## Message Text

## CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 162632 ORIGIN AF-10

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CONFIDENTIAL STATE 162632

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: EFIN, FR, AF

SUBJECT: GISCARD SPECIAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM FOR AFRICA

REF: PARIS 20160

PASS UNDER SECRETARY COOPER, OPENING OF BUSINESS JUNE 27, FROM MOOSE AND HORMATS

PARIS PASS DAS VERN JOHNSON AND HAVEN NORTH

1. WE WANT TO DRAW YOUR ATTENTION TO THE REFTEL REPORTING CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 162632

ON THE JUNE 22-23 EXPERTS MEETING IN PARIS AND TO SHARE WITH YOU A FEW THOUGHTS BEFORE YOU SEE FROMENT-MEURICE AGAIN.

2. EXCEPT FOR THEIR WILLINGNESS (A) TO SWITCH FROM A "FUND" TO A "PROGRAM" OF PROJECTS, (B) TO CONSIDER BROADENING THE GROUP OF DONORS BY ONE TO THREE, AND (C) TO

DROP POSSIBLY THE "AFRICAN WISEMEN" FORMULA IN FAVOR OF BROADER DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS, THE FRENCH ARE PRETTY MUCH STILL ON THEIR ORIGINAL COURSE.

- 3. THEY WANT A HIGHLY VISIBLE JOINT EFFORT BY THE GROUP OF FIVE WHICH WILL CONSIST OF: (A) OUR JOINT COMMITMENT TO FUND A SELECTED PACKAGE OF HIGHLY VISIBLE DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN AFRICA (THEIR PREFERENCE IS FOR INFRASTRUC-TURE, RATHER THAN BASIC HUMAN NEEDS SUCH AS HEALTH: EACH DONOR IS EXPECTED TO PARTICIPATE IN EVERY PROJECT); (B) A FORMAL THREE-TIERED ORGANIZATION STRUCTURE, AS WITH THE ORIGINAL FUND CONCEPT; (C) A ONE BILLION DOLLAR PROGRAM SPREAD OVER FIVE YEARS WITH FIXED PROPORTIONAL SHARES OF THE BURDEN (I.E., THE U.S. AT 40 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL); (D) CONCENTRATION IN FACT ON SELECTED PROJECTS IN "MODERATE" AFRICAN STATES (AND BY AND LARGE FRANCO-PHONE STATES, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF ZAMBIA AND OF TRANS-PORTATION PROJECTS WHICH WOULD TRAVERSE TANZANIA), ALTHOUGH IN PRINCIPLE ALL SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA WOULD CONCEIV-ABLY BE ELIGIBLE: (E) OUR COMMITMENT TO IDENTIFY THE PROGRAM AND ITS PROJECTS IN OUR AID BUDGET; AND (F) OUR ASSURANCES THAT OUR CONTRIBUTIONS ARE INDEED "NEW MONEY."
- 4. WE FAILED IN PARIS TO GAIN FRENCH ENTHUSIASM FOR A MORE FLEXIBLE, ALTERNATIVE "CONSULTATIVE PROCESS" WHICH WOULD CONCENTRATE ON TRYING TO IDENTIFY WORTHY PROJECTS CONFIDENTIAL.

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 162632

WITH THE AFRICANS OVER A PERIOD OF TIME (RATHER THAN STARTING WITH A PRE-PACKAGED PROGRAM OF PROJECTS), (B) SEEK TO IMPROVE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF OUR ALREADY ANTICIPATED INCREASES IN AID TO AFRICA AND (C) TO MAKE MORE VISIBLE TO AFRICANS THE EXTENT OF CURRENT AID EFFORTS BY WESTERN DONORS.

- 5. THE FRENCH CLEARLY WANT TO DEPART AS LITTLE AS POSSIBLE FROM THEIR ORIGINAL PROPOSAL AND FROM THE CONCEPT OF A HIGHLY POLITICAL, VISIBLE GESTURE TO ASSURE AFRICANS THAT THEIR BEST SUPPORT LIES IN THE WEST. WE WERE NOT CONVINCED BY THE PARIS DISCUSSIONS, DESPITE FRENCH STATEMENTS OF ASSURANCES TO THE CONTRARY, THAT THEIR PROPOSALWITH ALL ITS POTENTIAL FUNDING AND OTHER DIFFICULTIES FOR US-WOULD NOT RISK BEING POLITICALLY DIVISIVE IN AFRICA. HOW BEST TO CHOOSE A PACKAGE OF SPECIFIC JOINT DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS WHILE TAKING FULLY INTO ACCOUNT A FAIRLY BROAD SPECTRUM OF AFRICAN VIEWS, FOR EXAMPLE, REMAINS UNANSWERED.
- 6. WE THINK OUR DELEGATION IN PARIS PLAYED A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE AND THAT THE FRENCH THEMSELVES PROBABLY SEE IT IN

THAT LIGHT. THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION REMAINS, HOWEVER, WHETHER THIS FRENCH-LED "PROGRAM" OF A HIGHLY VISIBLE GROUP OF FIVE CONCENTRATION ON SELECTED DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS IN WHAT WOULD INEVITABLY BE LESS THAN ALL OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA CONSTITUTES THE BEST CHOICE OF INSTRUMENTS IN THE CONTEXT OF OUR CURRENT POLICY TOWARD AFRICA.

7. YOU WILL WANT TO ASSURE FROMENT-MEURICE THAT WE WILL BE CLOSELY STUDYING THE RESULTS OF THE PARIS EXPERTS MEETING, INCLUDING THE FRENCH LIST OF PROPOSED PROJECTS. (FRENCH NO DOUBT EXPECT US TO COME BACK WITH COUNTER-PROPOSALS FOR PROJECTS THAT CONCENTRATE MORE OUTSIDE THE FRANCOPHONE AREA.) OVERALL, FOR THE MOMENT, IT SEEMS TO US YOU PROBABLY WILL NOT WANT TO GIVE FROMENT-CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 162632

MEURICE ANY REASON TO BE OVERLY ENCOURAGED.

8. FYI. REACTION IN MOST OF AFRICA TO THE FRENCH ROLE IN SHABA HAS BEEN SO EMOTIONALLY CRITICAL AS TO REINFORCE OUR MISGIVINGS ABOUT A PUBLICIZED US IDENTIFICATION WITH A MAJOR FRENCH-LED PROPOSAL FOR AFRICA END FYI. VANCE

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NNN

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